



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

The Attitude of the Chinese towards Americans

By HON. PAUL S. REINSCH¹

Recently United States Minister to China

I AM to speak about the feeling which the Chinese people entertain towards America at the present time. I shall therefore not be able to go back to look at the historic origins. Our relations with China go back one hundred and forty years; and, as you know, our first national consular representative was appointed to China in 1786. It is an inspiring part of our national history—that venturesome and perilous voyaging from New England and the Middle States around Cape Horn to the ports of the Far East; it shows the spirit of national adventure, one that later expressed itself in the pioneering progress across the Continent. At the time Townsend Harris did his work in Japan we were just on the verge of turning away from these world-wide developments, and concentrating on our home affairs. Through the Civil War we lost our merchant marine, which happily now is being restored so that our flag will again be seen in these distant countries competing with the other great commercial nations of the world. That is one of the few advantages we can see coming out of the troublous times we have passed through during the past few years.

In that long period of one hundred and forty years there has developed in the minds of the Chinese quite a definite idea as to what America is, and what America stands for. Where-

ever you may travel in China, you can not fail to be struck with the universal confidence in America. That is not merely holiday talk, or diplomatic courtesy—it lives in the hearts of the Chinese people; that living faith in America, existing throughout so vast a population—the most antique and complex civilization in the world—I believe is one of the greatest treasures that we possess. It appears and expresses itself on many occasions, but I shall just cite one illustrative instance. When the American War Works Drive was undertaken in 1918, word was sent to China that it would be desirable if the Americans there did their part, and perhaps some Chinese friends might wish to contribute a little. The Chinese were then in a difficult situation, and nobody had any expectations at all, but it was thought possibly they might contribute something like one hundred thousand dollars. I casually mentioned the matter after a dinner to two prominent Chinese officials with whom I was sitting, simply telling them about the drive and saying, “Do you think that the Chinese would wish to express their good will in some way just to show that they have taken notice of it?” They looked at each other and said, “yes.” Within five days they had formed committees in every prominent city in China, and whereas we had thought that possibly a few rich individuals might give a testimonial, they raised without any further suggestion, entirely of their own motion and with their own methods, a million and a half dollars, within two weeks.

I might cite a great many similar striking instances which speak of

¹ Author of: *The Common Law in the Early American Colonies* (1899), *World Politics at the End of the Nineteenth Century as Influenced by the Oriental Situation* (1900), *Colonial Government* (1902), *Colonial Administration* (1905), *American Legislatures and Legislative Methods* (1907), *Intellectual Currents in the Far East* (1911), *International Unions* (1911).—The Editor.

their feeling, but it is the expression of it as one encounters the Chinese in every-day life that makes one feel it so strongly, and that makes people say, "the best passport anywhere in China is to be an American."

When we look into the reason for this feeling which is encountered everywhere, we think first of the action of the American Government which has in general aimed to be helpful to China. We have helped the Chinese in the opium matter; we have always taken the attitude that their rights as human beings and as a nation should be respected; we have always stood for a liberal interpretation of the provisions of the treaties which are sufficiently harsh under any circumstances.

The return of the Boxer indemnity is often cited; in fact, a great many people have an idea it is because of this act that the Chinese are so friendly. Indeed, the Boxer indemnity will be mentioned as an outstanding fact on very many occasions in China, and yet it is rather the spirit of that act than the amount of money which has impressed the Chinese. The fact that the indemnity was returned to them without any show of virtue or without an intimation that we were doing the Chinese a favor and expected something in return, but as a banker pays back the balance that is due, an act of simple equity,—that impressed the Chinese. Of course, our foreign friends have broadly hinted that this matter was craftily arranged so as to impress the Chinese, but the Chinese fortunately did not take any stock in such insinuations, because they know Americans and have known them for one hundred and forty years. We could have treated it as an act of charity; we could have made it a lever for getting concessions; but we did none of these

things. We said, "Here is your money, it belongs to you."

The Chinese are characterized by an innate sense of equity; in all of their social arrangements there is a basic equity which manifests itself at all times. They are the one nation which could most easily get along without any government whatsoever, by simply relying upon this feeling of equity which lives among the people. And it is because the diplomatic action of the American Government has at all times been based upon the idea that the Chinese are entitled to human rights, that we respect these rights, that we do not ask any concessions for respecting them, that the Chinese have conceived such deep confidence in America. Of late when we were involved in the war in Europe, and in the settlement thereof, it has not been possible to fulfill the expectations which the Chinese people had entertained with respect to effective support of their just claims. Nevertheless, they have felt that there probably were difficulties of which they themselves did not know. They in their essential reasonableness have not charged us with lack of sympathy and support, and they have kept their confidence. They have maintained the same attitude on the Exclusion Law. They are most reasonable; they consider that the United States is justified in not desiring large bodies of people of entirely different traditions to settle within the United States.

During all my intercourse with the Chinese as American Minister I never heard a harsh word of criticism concerning this matter. It is possible, of course, the Chinese could be stirred up about it; there are plenty of people who are ready to call the attention of the Chinese very pointedly to the fact that there is a grievance here. That has

been done abundantly, but the Chinese have taken the view which I have stated to you. Should we become guilty of any injustice against them, or should we coldly abandon them to the intrigues and aggression of others, their attitude on this point might change.

On one point the Chinese have often been indignant, namely, that Chinese who have a perfect right under our Laws and treaties to come to the United States—Chinese officials, merchants and students—are often at our ports of entry, subjected to very annoying delays, and in fact, from their point of view, to indignities. I shall mention only one case which recently happened. A Chinese merchant came here to inspect our electrical industry, expecting to place a large order. He had letters of introduction to American firms, and his patronage had been sought for years. The immigration official at the port of entry sent him into the detention place for several days; when he emerged from there he not only bought his ticket to New York but beyond, to England. It is a very poor policy even from a purely commercial point of view; every other nation labors to attract the Chinese.

I have thus far spoken of matters relating to the government. The feeling of confidence expresses itself also quite universally in the daily intercourse among individuals. Certain outstanding things have been done by America and Americans, which have enlisted the good will of the Chinese. Great enterprises for human betterment have been undertaken, like the China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, with its splendid new hospital and medical school in Peking, and similar work elsewhere; a great many missionary hospitals; colleges and universities in Peking, Tientsin, Foochow,

Shanghai, Changsha, Chengtu and Canton, which are all doing splendid educational work. These institutions are centers from which there radiates an influence that goes to the most remote parts of China, and far exceeds in its beneficiaries the number who come within the gates of such institutions. They are models upon which other institutions fashion themselves; men go out and exert their influence in establishing similar training institutions elsewhere. In the great work of giving to China a share in the modern education of the world, these institutions have taken the lead.

If these great enterprises had been established with the purpose of a charity, to do work for the Chinese, the latter would have remained apathetic; but as the universal spirit of Americans is to help the Chinese help themselves, confidence and real friendship are the result. As in the Boxer indemnity, it is not so much the money that is the essence; the twenty million dollars that Mr. Rockefeller gave did not of itself impress the Chinese, as they are not easily impressed by sums. They were, however, impressed by the spirit of that gift, and the spirit of the men who came to work there. This is the real heart of the feeling of confidence—the spirit that has animated the Americans in China through these generations. The other nations have generally been holding to what we call “treaty port isolation” in dealing with the Chinese; they took off the cream of the trade and concerned themselves but little with the welfare of the country. But among Americans, first the missionaries, and then the teachers and merchants, there has been a different attitude.

The official world representing foreign nations has usually taken the attitude that the Chinese are not ca-

pable of managing their own affairs, and that the best thing for China would be to institute a foreign control. That has been done in the Customs Revenue, in which the Chinese themselves have no chance for promotion to the higher offices, and which is therefore a distinctly foreign service. What in the eye of the Chinese distinguishes the American point of view from that of the other nations is that whatever the Americans have done they have done in a spirit of coöperation, not with a view to establishing a hierarchy of officials or a group of mentors that would perpetuate itself and pass to its successors authority over the Chinese. America has been true to her democratic ideas in her treatment of the Chinese.

This may be well illustrated from the work of the Young Men's Christian Association which has a very powerful and beneficial influence in China.

The Y. M. C. A. men have gone to China, not in order to build up there a permanent *American* organization which would tutor the Chinese, but with the idea of arousing in the Chinese a desire for better things, and helping them to achieve improvements for themselves. Thus, for instance, the development of athletics was exceedingly necessary in China, both on the physical and on the moral side. The classes engaged in business and learning had led a sedentary life for centuries; they needed more physical stamina, because our Western method of work and life requires more intensive and long continued exertion than the Chinese were accustomed to. They needed athletics for their good health, to take them away from cards and chess and other indoor games, and to take them out into the open; but on the moral side too, to overcome clan-nishness, to make them realize the meaning of fair play in competition;

to learn that defeat can be as glorious as victory in a fair struggle. Young China has made decided progress in such training as one may see at their great athletic meets. I saw one not long ago in Taiyuanfu, an interior capital. The athletic field was in a corner of the city walls; these huge ramparts had been cut in tiers, to afford seats for at least fifteen thousand Chinese whose blue and white gowns made a bright background to the scene. There were tents on one side where the different competing teams had their quarters, and a grandstand closed the quadrangle. The whole performance went off like clock-work. All the colleges and universities of North China were represented, including six provinces. There were four or five "events" going on at the same time; after every series there were passed around multiple tally records so that everybody could know what was being accomplished. There was no hitch, no tedious delay.

Such contests had first been nurtured by the Y. M. C. A. But Americans were not in control as managers; they were there ready to give a hint when needed or to act as referee; but they had impressed upon the Chinese, "this is your affair, you manage it." The readiness of the Americans to start useful work in China and then to withdraw into the background and take joy in the Chinese doing it themselves—that has won the hearts of the Chinese more than anything else. As a result of all this these men have gathered confidence, trust and esteem, which could not be won in any other way.

The same spirit prevails among most of our merchants, who are entering upon coöperation with the Chinese. They train up young Chinese in the methods of Western business. It is there we can perform one of our great-

est services. In the organization of modern business out of the traditional methods in China, some of the excellences of the ancient system tend to become defects unless they are corrected. The traditional commercial virtue of the Chinese should be taken over into the modern method of doing business, or there will result a reign of rank materialism in China. It is there that the sympathetic guidance of Americans in coöperative enterprise can do the most for China—to teach them the proper and effective use of corporate machinery.

From an intercourse extending over a period of 140 years, there has resulted on the part of the Chinese a feeling of confidence, trust and good will towards the Americans, who have desired that the Chinese should be masters in their own country. The Americans, for their part, have confidence in Chinese honesty, fairness, and humanity. You may take it as a rule that the longer anyone has worked among the Chinese, and especially in the interior, the more strongly will he be impressed by their fine qualities and capacities.

The word "prestige" is very often mentioned in international matters—"we must not lose our prestige," or "this action would be dangerous to our prestige"; it is a term very closely bound up with what we call the old diplomacy. Where prestige is the result of strength of resources, of sound methods and of just dealing, it is a national asset. But there is often a desire to get prestige by outward bravado and the rattling of sabres. Those who rattle sabres, I think history has shown, have gained in the long run only hatred or ridicule, or both.

The Chinese are keen judges of human nature and human character, and are not impressed by bluster. If anyone loses his temper it strikes them as

amusing, and if anyone swears and scolds, they smile. They can only be moved by a man who keeps himself perfectly in hand and remains calm and reasonable; otherwise, whatever he may say or do is discounted. In international intercourse they have, of course, been repeatedly made to do things by the mailed fist, by being told "this must be done or the war ships will bombard." We must remember, however, that action in such cases was taken by individual officials or ministers who stood alone without feeling back of them the public opinion of a great nation restraining and upholding. Very often the most valuable concessions were given in a weak desire to put off the evil day, to gain a present respite in the hope that the evil could be undone in the future. The individual minister did not himself have the strength of stubborn resistance. Therein lies the weakness of the Chinese; they do not have the spirit of John Hampden and Luther, the strength to stand up and say, "Here I am, and nothing shall move me, because it is my right."

It is a remarkable fact that when a Chinese desires to protest against an evil he commits suicide as a last resort. We do not yet know all the facts of the recent suicide of the Viceroy of Nankin, a very able and strong man; but it is reported that he has left in writing a statement that he felt unable to cope with the difficulties which confront China, and that therefore he resigned his life. That has been one way which both men and women in China have taken to resist or protest evil.

In China right has always been vindicated by society as a whole rather than by individuals; and society has been strong to resist evil, to oppose tyranny. Therefore they have relied upon it and not upon individual action. Society has protested in a different

way from individuals, and in a very effective way—by passive resistance or non-action. The first thing anyone who desires to understand the Chinese must know is that the Chinese do not think very much of the formal act of the government. They know that nothing can be accomplished permanently unless the people are convinced of its justice; otherwise, they will fall back on passive resistance and the enterprise in question will not make much progress, it will not be profitable or beneficial, because there will be a little resistance here and a little delay there—a boycott, a strike or mere leaden indifference. The usual way in which official acts that were considered unjust were resisted was by universal strike; all the shops would close, people simply sat down and did nothing. The magistrate responsible had to scurry about to make a compromise; he had to call the business people together and talk it over, and see how it could be adjusted; but if he could not settle the trouble he had to leave and make way for somebody else. So the Chinese were not at first sufficiently aware of the danger of making extensive national concessions to foreigners; they were accustomed to see time smoothe out the acerbities of unfair projects. The traditional method worked well enough until China came out into international life. But when her affairs became interwoven with those of other nations, when pressure was brought to bear by foreign diplomats insisting on concessions which were then enforced by gun-power, the old methods of adjustment could not be relied on. China in many cases was tied up unmercifully, as in the case of Shantung and the concessions to Germany, which could have been resisted.

There has come about within the last two years an organization of public

opinion in China on a national basis, which is in a fair way to change all this. At the present time the men who manage the public business of China have come to feel back of them the enormous strength of public opinion, which restrains them—for they do not dare to make any concessions that will be disapproved—but which also upholds them in any resistance to unjust demands. That is an entirely new thing in the development of China. Heretofore, public opinion has been purely negative in its action, and the individual has not come forward; now individual leaders appear and public opinion makes positive demands.

At the present time public opinion in China is becoming active, demanding certain things, forbidding others; official action is both strengthened and restrained by this new development. It may truly be said, "the first time in four thousand years." When we consider that, you will see what a treasure it is to us that the people of China who are coming to their own, who are now beginning actively to think about political affairs and to influence the course of their government, cherish within their hearts a feeling of confidence towards the United States; and you will agree with me that it is not a matter of indifference to this nation what is thought of us by the four hundred million who live beyond the Pacific. It is not a matter of indifference to us whether they are to continue an industrious, peaceable nation, aiming at greater approximation to our democratic practices and ideas, or whether they are to be stirred up by foreign aggression into militarism or by foreign intrigue made to misunderstand our national purposes. The good will of the Chinese excuses itself also in a universal desire among the

young people of China to come to America for study and for closer acquaintance with our life and institutions. The young people find many obstacles in their way under our existing regulations. It would seem to be desirable to determine status as a student by the fact that the person in question pursues studies in a recognized institution of learning, and not to make him lose that status if he incidentally does some work in order to partly defray his expenses. Unfortunately, here too, not everything is ideal on our part. Those who have plenty of money of their own, or whose expenses are paid by the Chinese Government, are indeed admitted without difficulty; but the poor, no matter what their ability, no matter even though they may be leaders, encounter unfavorable regulations. France at the present time is making arrangements for taking care of ten thousand Chinese students without means.

The French who thoroughly realize the importance of this matter, have made arrangements by which Chinese students can earn incidentally part of their expenses. Yet these very students will make every effort to borrow money among their relatives in order that they may come to the United

States instead of going to any other country. In China there are no classes. Ability will bring the son of the poorest family into prominent position, and many of these impecunious boys who are seeking an education will be the leaders of future China.

The relations between our country and China (and the relations between our country and Japan, as well) will be very greatly influenced by intelligent sympathy on our part towards the ideals that now animate the youth of the Far East. A distant, platonic, holiday sympathy without understanding will not do much good; but if we realize the enormous transformations that are going on, the difficulties encountered, and all that is at stake, we shall see in it one of the greatest opportunities for helpful coöperation. The imponderabilia of popular feeling and sentiment are very important. They are not so specific as statistics, such as Mr. Morris has cited, or as we could cite with respect to China. But they are after all the forces that mould policies and determine the destinies of nations. In speaking to you about this matter, I hope to awaken in your hearts and minds an interest in that great population beyond the seas that is so deeply interested in us.

AMENDMENT, CALIFORNIA ALIEN LAND LAW, ADOPTED NOVEMBER 2, 1920

AN ACT relating to the rights, powers and disabilities of aliens and of certain companies, associations and corporations with respect to property in this state, providing for escheats in certain cases, prescribing the procedure therein, requiring reports of certain property holdings to facilitate the enforcement of this act, prescribing penalties for violation of the provisions hereof, and repealing all acts or parts of acts inconsistent or in conflict herewith.

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. All aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States may acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit and inherit real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the same manner and to the same extent as citizens of the United States, except as otherwise provided by the laws of this state.

SECTION 2. All aliens other than those mentioned in section one of this act may acquire, possess, enjoy and transfer real property, or any interest therein, in this state, in the manner and to the extent and